1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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[P. 1]

PART I

EN-GUTUK OO-L-MAASAE
MASAI GRAMMAR

ALPHABET AND PRONUNCIATION.

Vowels.

1904

A represents the English *a* in father.
E " " *a* in fate.
E " " *e* in benefit.
Æ " " *a* in dare, but finger and more open.
I " " *i* in hit.
Í " " *i* in ravine.
O " " *o* in not.
Ó " " *o* in note.
Ô " " *aw* in paw.
U " " *u* in bull.
Ú " " *u* in flute.
Ä " " *u* in but, *o* in tongue.
Äi " " *i* in ice, *ai* in aisle.

Ae is a diphthong similar to *ai*, but formed by a union of the vowels *a* and *e*.

Ao represents the English *ow* in how.

Oi " " *oi* in oil.

Ii. These two letters are usually pronounced separately, but they are sometimes slurred over and are scarcely distinguishable from *ai* in *sight* or *ay* in *day*.

Whenever *ai* or *oi* are not pronounced as diphthongs, the *i* is marked by a diæresis, thus, *aï*[1].

Vowels are only doubled when there is a distinct repetition of a single sound. Sometimes, however, sounds which when spoken slowly must be indicated by a double vowel, are contracted into a long single vowel when spoken quickly.

[1] Examples of *ai*, *ei*, and *oi*:—*Ngai*, the heavens; *ngai*, the god; *ngoni*, the other.

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CONSONANTS.

B, d, k as in English.

G is hard, as in the English word *go*.

H is used as an aspirate only in a few interjections.

Gk is a *g* followed by an *h* as in *log-hut*, and resembles the *gh* in Sanskrit. It is not pronounced like the Arabic *ghain*.

J nearly resembles the English *j*, though it is sometimes pronounced like *dy*.

Ch as in church. It, however, is sometimes exchangeable with *j* or *dy*: e.g. *el-chani*, the tree, may also be pronounced *el-jani* or *el-dyani*.

Ih, l, m, n as in English.

Ny has two separate sounds, the one hard as in the English word *finger*, the other as in *singer*. The latter sound is written *ng*.

Ny. This sound is similar to *ni* in the English word *minion*, or *ñ* in Spanish.

P is more explosive than in English.

R is always well pronounced or rolled on the tongue. The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce this sound like a burring *r*.

S, t, w as in English.

Sh. In a few words there appears to be a trace of *s* or *which* is only partially pronounced even when talking slowly: e.g. *Shi, enna*.

Sho represents the sound of *sh* in the Scotch *why* or *wheedom*.

S, y, z, and *y* are pronounced in a lazy way by just opening the lips.

V is a consonant, as in *yard*.

CHANGES OF LETTERS, AND REMARKS.

The Masai of Naivasha and Nairobi sometimes use *o* for *e*. Thus:

Aingwere (for *aingweri*), the water.

Before *i*, *ai* changes to an accentuated single *a*. Example:

A-imij-i (for *ai-imij-i*), I am washed.

A and *e* are occasionally interchangeable. Our learn, for instance:

En-sirendia or *an-sirendia*, the lake.
Alkpata or *elkpata*, the plain.
Aga or *ega*, formerly.

CHANGES OF LETTERS

R and *l* when spoken rapidly often sound as if they were the same letter. It is in consequence sometimes difficult to distinguish between such words as e-gol, to choose, and e-gil, to break.

R is changed to *l* when followed by *e*. Examples:

Ol-Kpejian, the hyena;	Ol-Kpejiani, the hyenas.
A-ere, to flee;	a-a-ell-e, I fled.

The Northern Masai frequently change *l* to *r* when the *l* is joined by a consonant to *e*. Examples:

Aillisa or airisa, I was sick.
Aillipa or airipa, I finished.

When *l* is the first letter of a word it is usually dropped if preceded by another word ending in a vowel.

Aidie 'ajiu (for *aidie l-ajiu*), I give you.
Aidie 'i-ajiak (for *aidie l-ajiak*), I give the boys.

I is also dropped whenever the sound occurs at the beginning of sentences. Thus:

'E-ntiolo (for *i-n-tiolo*), the stories.
'L-enana (for *il-enana*), the sons.

When *i* is the last letter of a word and is followed by a vowel, *y* is often inserted to join the two vowels together. Examples:

Ee-gumi-y-ai (for *e-ugumi ai*), my child.

Numerous changes take place in the spelling of verbs which commence with *i*. For a complete list see page 39. It will be sufficient to give here the general rules.

I. The first letter of the verb (*i*) falls out whenever preceded by another *i* and followed by *i*, *l*, *n*, *dj*, *ng*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *ai*, or *p*. Examples:

A-ich, to show (teach);	A-'ich, thou showest (teach).
A-ing, to climb;	A-'ing, thou climbest.
A-inkan, to count;	A-'inkan, thou countest.
A-ingiti, to look;	A-'ingiti, thou lookest.
A-inyoleg-e, to buy;	A-'inyoleg-e, thou buyest.
A-irag, to sleep;	A-'irag, thou sleepest.
A-iatin, to touch;	A-'iatin, thou touchest.
A-irobi, to hear;	A-'irobi, thou hearest.
A-iwi-e, to milk (first is a vowel);	A-'wi-e, thou milkest (first is a vowel).
A-ipata, to marry;	A-'pata, thou marriest.

II. The *i* is changed to *e* whenever it is preceded by another *i* and followed by *d*, *g*, *k*, *t*, and *sh*. As will be shown shortly, this letter

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194 104 k, t, and sh cannot follow n; these letters therefore change at the same time to g, d, and j respectively. Examples:

A-tilim, to be able;	i-ndim, thou art able.
A-tguny, to fill;	i-nguny, thou fillest.
A-tkon, to count;	i-ngon, thou countest.
A-tubbir, to prepare;	i-ndubbir, thou preparest.
A-tshop, to wear;	i-njop, thou wearest.

III. The i is changed to o whenever it is preceded by another i and followed by k, p, t, or ch. It will be shown presently that p, t, and ch are interchangeable and cannot follow o; these letters are consequently changed at the same time to b. Examples:

A-iloloikony, to turn over;	i-ololoikony, thou turnest over.
A-iyuk, or A-iyuk, or A-iyuk, to fall;	'yuk, little fallen.

I and y are interchangeable when followed by o or u. The Northern Masai generally use the former, the Southern the latter. Examples:

Ilo-gwinia or ongwinya, the night.
Tolikio or tolikyo, hill.

Y sometimes becomes i after u. Examples:

A-tuaia (for a-tuaya), to sit on.
A-iniinia (for a-iniinya), to love.

O becomes u when joined to a consonant to u. Examples:

A-ito, to do;	a-itu-aa, I did.
A-itigor, to look;	a-itigur-a, I looked.

The Northern Masai sometimes pronounce u like o, or like the German ö. Examples:

A-ilor (for a-ilur), to move. A-otj (for a-utj), to follow.

B and b are sometimes interchangeable. Examples:

Ilo-gorikitio or ilo-gorikitio, the mongoose.
Kisiboy or Kisiboy, a district near Naivasha known to Europeans as Kisiqyu.

Gh and h are interchangeable. The former sound is more used by the Southern Masai than by the Northern, and the women of Naivasha and Naivasha employ it more frequently than the men.

Both gh and h change to g when following n:

Tirom-kenti or enna-gherai, this child; en-gerai, the child.
Ol-kojito or en-gojito, the blade of grass.
A-ito or a-igito, to do; i-ngo, thou dost; i-ngitho or i-ngigio, you do.

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P, *ṗ*, and *ᵽ* are interchangeable. The Northern Masai generally use *p*, the Southern *ṗ* or *ᵽ*. Examples: 194 164

Ol-poror, ol-ṗoror, *or* ol-ᵽoror, the generation, age.
Pûkin, ṗûkin, *or* ᵽûkin, all.

K is occasionally interchangeable with *p*, *ṗ*, and *ᵽ*.

For instance, ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ṗukuri *or* ol-ᵽukuri), the (large) gourd, is also sometimes expressed ol-kuputi (pl. il-pukuto *or* il-kuputo).

Before *p*, *ṗ*, and *ᵽ*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *ṗ*, or *ᵽ* changes to *b*. Examples:

Ol-pukuri (*or* ol-ṗukuri *or* ol-ᵽukuri), the (large) gourd.
Em-bukuri, the (small) gourd.
I-mbiri, thou fleest, (from *a-ijiri*, to fly).

When *k* is the last letter of a verb, the root undergoes various changes in the formation of the past tense. For a complete list vide p. 56.

It will be sufficient to state here that the *k* is dropped unless the letter which precedes it is *i* or *u*. Examples:

A-lak, to unfasten; a-ta-la-a, I unfastened.
A-muk, to become accustomed to; a-ta-mu-o, I became accustomed to.

But A-rik, to take (a person); a-ta-rik-o, I took (a person).
A-nunk, to fold; a-ta-nunk-o, I folded.

The Northern Masai also frequently omit *k* both at the end and in the body of a word. Examples:

Il-tuiguna (for il-tuiguank), the men.
Il-iguaniyo (for il-iguaniyok), the fruit.
Kitua (for kituak), big (pl.).
A-ikwaniyo (for a-ikwanikyo), to laugh at.
Ani (for anaki), or.

Sh can only be used after a vowel or at the commencement of a word. Examples:

A-isho, to give.
Shoo, the grazing ground.
Ele-shani *or* ana-shani, this tree.
Le-shorusi, na-shorusi, O (the) friend!

After *l*, *sh* becomes *sh*, and after *n*, *j*. Examples:

I-ajo, thou givest.
Ol-shani *or* an-jani, the tree.
Ol-shorusi *or* an-jorusi, the friend.

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104 Ch can only be used after l.

J occasionally changes to *r* in the formation of past tenses of verbs. Examples:

A-ji-tyo, not to return;	a-ti-tyo, I have not returned.
A-j-aki, to say to;	a-ti-aka, I said to.

The *l* of the masculine article (vide p. 10) is dropped before words beginning with *a, i, o, e,* and *p*. Examples:

O-ongot (for ol-ongot), the male wildebeest.
O-lamba (for ol-lamba), the valley.
O-nomi (for ol-nomi), the word.
O-merge (for ol-merge), the blood.
O-piyai (for ol-piyai), the porcupine.

It has been stated that before *e* and *o* the *l* of the masculine article is assimilated as in *Arabic*, and that the double consonant is heard. This is, however, not the case. When the syllables are spoken separately, the singular article is clearly pronounced *o*, not *e* or *ee*; and in the plural the article drops out altogether, unless it follows a word ending in a consonant, when an *i* is used, as *ir* or *in*.

Ch, k, t, and *sh* change to *g, g, d,* and *j* respectively after *n*. Examples:

En-gitye (for en-chitye), the daughter.
N-gishu (for 'n-kishu), the cattle.
I-ng'ilikwan-e (for i-nkilikwan-e), ask!
En-dito (for en-tito), the wood.
I-ndondo-e (for i-ntondo-e), shoot!
En-jimi (for en-shimi), the pious of kids.
I-njinj-e (for i-nshinj-e), wear!

The *n* of the feminine article (vide p. 10) falls out before nouns commencing with one of the following letters: *a, i, o, e, ilg, ngi, r, s, n, w,* and *y*. Examples:

E-ongot (for en-ongot), the female wildebeest.
E-lang (for en-lang), the eli.
E-nolil (for en-nolil), the cooking pot.
E-ngarityiai (for en-ngarityiai), the women.
E-ngiuta (for en-nguta), the soul.
E-ng (for en-ng), the house.
E-nanyoki (for en-nanyoki), the young woman.
E-nkito (for en-kito), the girl.
E-nanyua (for en-nanyua), the female Grant's gazelle.
E-yi (for en-yi), the male.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Before *k*, *n* becomes *m*, and before *p*, *s*, or *sh*, *n* becomes *m*, and the *p*, *s*, or *sh* changes to *f*: 194 104

En-kai (for *en-kai*), the arrow.
I-nkishikany-a (for *i-nkishikany-a*), turn over!
En-futi (for *en-puti*, or *en-yuti*, or *en-wuti*), the trench.
I-nfuta-a (for *i-nputa-a*, or *i-nyuta-a*, or *i-nwuta-a*), call!

Before substantives commencing with *l*, the *n* of the feminine article is assimilated, the double consonant being distinctly pronounced. Examples:

El-lanya (for *en-lanya*), the hole in the wall.
El-ldigo (for *en-ldigo*), the shield.

N must always be preceded by a vowel or another *n*. Examples:

Ol-nyoro, the navel. *N-gore*, the children. *N-gare*, the sheep.

N is sometimes omitted in the body of a noun to form distinctions, or is changed to *l* or *y*. Examples:

E-ngoryoki, the women;	*e-ngoryoki*, the female (used in a depreciatory sense).
En-gerai, the child;	*en-gelai*, the little child.
Ol-ngoro, the beast of prey;	*ang-goyo*, the small beast of prey.

V and *w*, when followed by a vowel, are interchangeable, the former being used by the Northern, the latter by the Southern Masai. Examples:

Aiwa or *aiva*, I find or within.
Ol-mdiwa or *ol-mdiva*, the old man.

Ny is occasionally substituted for *n* or *ni*, otherwise it is not used. Examples:

E-kanyi (for *e-nyi*), the plain.
E-kenya (for *e-neni*), the river.
Ol-mdikenya (for *ol-mdineni*), the buffalo.

THE ACCENT.

In most words all syllables are pronounced alike, a very slight stress being perhaps laid on the penultimate. This is more particularly noticeable when the last syllable but one contains a long vowel, e.g. *ol-nyéni*, 'a jackal.' 194

Should the accent fall on any other syllable but the penultimate, it is specially marked, thus: *ol-mdíwa*, 'a river.'

These words are sometimes, and probably correctly, pronounced *ol-mdiwa*, however; but owing possibly to the difficulty of making

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[04] With the exception of Chapter II., the matter contained in this Administrative and Political Record of the Masai has been drawn from official papers. Chapter II. has been compiled from early reports and various published books, and assistance in arranging and in checking detail for this chapter has been obtained from Mr. Ainsworth, who has personal knowledge of the early history of administrative contact with the tribe.

[02] The maps which have been distributed where necessary throughout the text have considerably diminished, although, as a large part of the Masai Reserve is unsurveyed. The more general maps must be regarded only as illustrative, and it is probable that much of the detail is inaccurate. The boundary of the Masai Reserve still awaits demarcation, and the line purporting to show its position is therefore tentative.

[04] A cause of inconsistency in the spelling of tribal and geographical names pervades the official records, and the spelling adopted here, selected as that most consistently employed, makes no pretension to philological or linguistic accuracy.

G. R. SANDFORD.

Nairobi,

October 30th, 1918.

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9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

of ceremonial dancers taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Massailand.

A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicised "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Unoto*, "Laiser" for *'l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicised or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicised the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. **Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonak — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Sabei — origin of the Loodwos or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidences.**

The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

* Fully illustrated.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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561 change. To assume elderhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adapted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

080 Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. **The Laigwanan and his Assistants — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — installation — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.**

104 561 624 The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved:—

ol aigwenani, pl. *il aigwanak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

ol aigwenani loongishu pokin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief lai gwanan of the age.

ol aigwenani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e murt ol aigwenani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

ingobiro, pl. *ingobir*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

561 624 The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the *il piron* elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingobir*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

el gelat -- see ol gelata
el goiatek -- see ol goiatiki
em boschona -- a violent attack brought on by consumption of certain nerve stimulants
en dorosi -- a sort of Rītli oath
ėng aṅ el moruak -- kraals for the married
eṅ gebāta -- the circumcision festival for boys
eṅ giguana -- any gathering for a consultation
eṅ gischomi -- the "Tribe" (clan)
erta gonjek -- the evil eye
es sĕtăn -- sorcery
gituṅguat -- the painting of the body
ol abani -- surgeon
ol adji -- an association of two age classes
ol aigwenani -- speaker for a warrior age class
ol aunoni -- head of married men's class and also district leader
ol boror -- age class
ol gelata -- a lineage
ol gelata kitok -- principal lineages
ol gelat´ate -- sublineages
ol geretti -- a magical amulet that protects one against sorcery

ol gibet -- one-half of the dual division of a warrior mess company
ol goiatiki -- sorcerer
ol kononi, el konono -- blacksmith
ol manjata -- warrior kraals
ol meggi, el meg -- unbeliever
ol momai -- ordeals for exacting truth from a defendent during trials
ol morani -- warriors
ol móruo -- married man
ol oiboni -- chief
ol oikob -- killers, rough, brutal persons used as an invective against the Masai
ol oscho' bo -- a province
os sandja -- a girl's lover
os sirit ol bul -- individual members of a warrior mess company
sirit' ol bul -- warrior mess companies

18: Merker--v G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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104 For the spelling of Masai words the German pronunciation was generally decisive. Hence only the following signs remain to be explained:

e is the German ä sound in Wärme or in maison, to bear.
ę is a middle sound between a and o.
oi as in Leu, boy.
y is a German j, fayance.
ń is the nasal n in Wange, allons.

193 Concerning the grammar, it is to be noted that ol, el, en (eń, eńg), n (ń, ng) are articles, the vowels of which, for the sake of euphony, may take on the most varied tone-color: ol and en are the articles of the singular, el and ń those of the plural.

122 Before I conclude these lines, I have to pay a debt of gratitude. To His Highness, Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, as the President of the Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft /German Colonial Society/, I owe most humble thanks for the granting of a sum which made possible the printing of this book, and similarly
128 to the Director and Board of this Gesellschaft. Furthermore, I have to thank Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki for his kind assistance in the preparation of the material collected, Herr Marinestabsarzt (retired) Dr. L. Sander, who kindly supervised the reading of the proofs, which I was prevented from doing because of my return to German East Africa, as well as Herr Professor Volkens, who looked over the botanical appendix. I also extend heartfelt thanks to Herr C. G. Schillings and Herr Missionar Emil Möller, Herr Oberleutnant i.d. Sch. Fonck II, Herr Regierungsveterinärarzt /government veterinarian/ Brauer, and Herr Kaufmann /merchant/ Meimaridis (Moschi /Moshi/), who most obligingly sent me a large number of photographs for the explanatory illustrations.

The Author.

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